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the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them [illegible] may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko,* influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. 11.)

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though [587] this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly ap- [585] proved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *teuueu* (*ha'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly unclad.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

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dress. Elaborate feather pieces were the most common type of headdress. Other types were of carved tortoise shell and porpoise teeth. Ornaments made of human hair were worn by both sexes as festival dress and by warriors in war time. Elaborate ear ornaments were the style with both sexes. Necklaces were made of whales' teeth, boars' tusks, and porpoise teeth—Porter (24, p. 83) speaks of the great value of whales' teeth among the natives. Characteristic was the use of flowers for making necklaces and crowns, and as ornaments in the hair and ears. Anointing the body and head with perfumed oil, bleaching the body, and staining it with saffron were also characteristic, and tattooing, described under Rites of Childhood and Youth, was done with rare perfection.

MEN'S LOIN CLOTHS

The loin cloth of a man (*hami*) consisted of a long strip of cloth passed around the waist and between the legs, the two ends forming, respectively, a small apron in front and a tail at the back. (See Pl. II, *E*.) Every part of the *hami* had its name. The end of the girdle which hung behind was called *fi'iñi'i* (*hi'hī'i*), *toave*, *tove'o*, or *kou'u;* the back knot, *poue;* the part which encircled the body, *iona;* and the end which formed the apron in front, *kotapu*, or *otapu* (8). The common everyday loin cloth (*hami puteo*) was made of white paper-mulberry bark cloth. There were undoubtedly innumerable variations in style and mode of wearing the *hami*. The *hami poka'a* was a very large loin cloth made of white cloth. It was regarded as very stylish to have a long tail in the rear—one or many knots were tied in the tail when an extra touch was desired. *Ka-ioi* wore perfumed and dyed loin cloths called *hami pipi*. These were of cloth made of the fine white cloth that had been soaked and dyed in perfumed coconut oil in which had been mixed *ena* and *pu'u kohu* (a small nut). Chief's festival loin cloths (*hami papaiha huhe*) were dyed with baked *ena* (*ena moa*). The reddish brown *hami hiapo* was made of young banyan bark and was worn only by such sacred personages as first-born sons, chiefs, and priests. A *hami hiapo* that was presented to the Bishop Museum expedition—once the possession of a chief of Ua Pou—has tied in one corner a tooth of its former wearer as a sign of ownership. The section of this *hami* that hung down in front was cut in strips, and the tail was knotted. The *hami kohito* was made of old paper mulberry bark which was called by the specific name *kohito*. In Haka Hi this *hami* was described as being very large and worn by *tuhuka*, old men. In Taiohae it was said to have been worn by old men and to have had three strips in front and a long tail behind; and furthermore it was here said to have

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been made of breadfruit bark. The *hami tata taka pu* was one worn with the tail on one side of the body instead of behind.

WOMEN'S WAIST CLOTHS

Ka'eu (*kareu, keukeu, eu'eu*) was the usual term for the waist cloth of a woman. Other terms for simple waist cloths were *kaka ahi* (8), *taka ko'oi, taka pu,* and *piti'i ko'oi.* Waistcloths were sometimes worn as skirts, and sometimes drawn up between the legs like a *hami.* Garcia (14, p. 135) describes the *ka'eu* as "a kind of little apron which surrounds the loins and descends to the knees." On the other hand, Krusenstern (16, p. 158) speaks of them as being "drawn up like [the loin cloth] of the men between the thighs." *Eu'eu pipi* or *eu'eu ku'uhua* were perfumed waist cloths worn by women at festivals. *Ka'ioi* girls dyed these yellow with *ena.* The *eu'eu tukua* was a waist cloth made from the bark of the young banyan (*hiapo*). Very long waist cloths were known as *pahuka* or *pa'aha eu'eu* (8).

Noku, or *no'u,* was cloth of great length—sometimes as long as thirty or forty yards—in which women wrapped themselves as festival costume, or with which children honored at festivals were girded. A pleated skirt reaching to the ankles and held out from the hips on a hoop was used as a dancing costume. The term for this is unknown to me.

On Nuku Hiva *takahi* was the cloth used by a woman at the time of menstruation—on Hiva Oa this was called *ka'eu.* It was made of coarse brownish cloth beaten from the bark of twigs of the banyan tree. Between monthly periods unused cloth was kept wrapped in fau leaves and tied with fau bark. When worn it was cut in a small square, folded and held between the legs without any artificial support, and after use it was buried.

ROBES—KAHU

Generically *kahu* refers to sheets of *tapa,* specifically to several forms of dress made of such sheets. As worn by women, two corners of the sheet were passed around the neck and tied over one or the other shoulder, leaving the opposite shoulder and sometimes the breast bare. The margins of the cloth being left free below the shoulder over which the ends were tied, exposed most of that side of the body. By men the corners of the sheet were tied in front of the neck, the cloth hanging over both shoulders as a cape or robe. The common, every-day robe of women was of cloth made of breadfruit (*mei*) bark. Festival dress (*kahu*) was of fine white cloth made of paper mulberry bark. Young girls who were *ka'ioi* soaked the white cloth in scented coconut oil mixed with yellow *ena.* Robes dyed and perfumed in this way were called *kahu pipi, kahu pani,* or

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291 ***kahu papaki*** (8). The ***kahu utu*** was a robe of artificially wrinkled fine white cloth, the cloth being put in water, crumpled with the hands, and then dried in the sun so that the wrinkles were fixed in it. The ***kahu ko'o ko'o*** was a full robe of white (***ute***) cloth made of a sheet of ***tapa*** eighteen feet long. At Pua Ma'u I was told that it covered the whole body like a blanket, coming to the ground, and was worn by the temple assistants. Elsewhere I was told that it was worn by warriors and hung down the back to the ground; and again that it was worn by women at festivals. Warriors on Nuku Hiva wore the ***kahu ku'a***, a sheet of red cloth tied around the neck in front and falling over the shoulders and back like a cape. One informant said that these were stained light red, but he probably referred to dyeing subsequent to the arrival of Europeans. The ***kahu ku'a*** is described by Garcia (14, p. 89) as "a piece of red cloth draped on the shoulders like a Roman mantle." The ***kahu ma'o***, a full-length robe of red banyan-bark cloth worn by warriors at Pua Ma'u was probably the same as the above. How this differed from the ***kahu hiapo*** is uncertain.

The ***kahu hiapo*** was made of reddish brown bark of the young banyan tree and covered the whole body. It constituted the dress of the ceremonial priest (***tuhuna o'ono***) at Pua Ma'u. The ceremonial dress of the inspirational priest (***tau'a***) at Pua Ma'u was the ***kahu kohito***, made of heavy bark of an old banyan tree. It was a full length robe covering the whole body and coming to the ground, described as being like the robe of a Catholic priest. Another ceremonial costume was the ***kahu koua'ehi***, a coconut leaf or leaves worn on the body by ***tuhuna*** on ceremonial occasions.

MATS

It would appear from the following quotation from Krusenstern that mats were occasionally worn on the upper body by men. "Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as merely to cover the back" (16, p. 157).

ORNAMENTS MADE OF HAIR

301 Both sexes wore hair ornaments which were of two kinds, those called ***pavahina***, made of white beards of old men; and those inclusively known as ***ouoho*** (literally head-hair) which were made of the black or brownish head hair of adults. ***Pavahina*** (or ***pava u***) were plumelike ornaments made of the white hair of old men's beards held together at the base by sennit bindings (fig. 25, *a*). They were worn on the head, under the by women, but for the most part by men, both at festivals and in war. The

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293 The *to'oto'o pio'o* (*tokotoko pio'o*) was a staff surmounted by a tuft of curled black hair. Around the upper end of the staff, immediately below the tuft of hair, was a finely woven band with design in colored

[532]

FIGURE 26.—Fans: *a*, ceremonial fan; *b*, detail of carving of a fan handle, front view; *c*, detail of carving of a fan handle, side view.

sennit (see fig. 25, *f*). These staffs were insignia for both chiefs and chiefesses.

DESCRIPTIONS OF DRESS BY EARLY VISITORS

291 The following descriptions selected from the writings of early visitors will give a better picture of the appearance and ensemble of costumes of various types than is gained from the above detailed study.

292 Stewart (26, pp. 223-225) describes a warrior's costume. He says that the headdress (a *ta'avaha*) was—

> . . . a crescent, three or four inches broad at its greatest breadth, fixed uprightly in front, the lower edge following the line of the hair on the forehead, and the points terminating at each temple immediately above the ears. A neat border, the eighth of an inch wide, ran round the edges in a herring-bone pattern of alternate black and white, while the middle was entirely filled with the small, scarlet

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berries of the *Abrus precatorius*, fastened upon the material of hich it was constructed by a gum which exudes from the bread-fruit tree. The crescent formed the front of a cap fitting closely to the head behind, and the foundation in which the heavy plumage surmounting it is fixed. This plumage consisted of the long, black, and burnished tail-feathers of the cock, the finest I ever saw, those in the centre being more than two feet in length. They were arranged behind the front-piece as closely as possible, and in such a manner as to form the shape of a deeply pointed chapeau, placed crosswise on the head, the feathers in the centre standing perpendicularly, and becoming more and more vertical till the lowest at the edges drooped deeply over the shoulders. The ends, falling from the highest point above the forehead one over another in a regularly defined curve on either side, played in the air with the gracefullness of an ostrich plume, and imparted to the whole an appearance of richness and taste we had not been led to expect from any of the decorations of the country previously seen.

In their ears, and entirely concealing them, they wore ornaments of light wood whitened with pipe clay. They are perfectly flat in front, something in the shape of the natural ear, but much larger, and are fastened by running a long projection on the hind part through slits made in the ears for receiving such ornaments. Strings of whale's teeth hung around their necks, and frizzled bunches of human hair were tied around their wrists and ankles; their loins also being gift with thick tufts of the same over large maros of white tapa. Short mantles of white cloth tied in a knot on the chest, and floating gracefully in the wind from their shoulders, with long spears, completed the costume.

The same writer gives some good descriptions of ceremonial dress:

The *Tuhunas* have a distinctive dress, consisting of a cap formed from a coconut leaf [the *pa'e koua'ehi*]. A part of the stem, six or eight inches in length, is placed perpendicularly over the forehead, and the leaflets still attached to it are passed round the head on each side, and neatly fastened together behind. Besides this article on the head, they wear a cape of the same material [the *kahu koua'ehi*]. In this the stem is split till within an inch or two of one of the ends, it is then passed round the neck, so that the extremities rest on each shoulder, and the separated ends are tied together. The ribs running through the leaflets being taken out, they hang gracefully over the chest and back. These article are usually worn by them on ordinary occasions, and always when in discharge of the services connected with their office (26, p. 248).

Elsewhere (26, p. 264) he describes a

messenger dressed in a large quantity of white cloth, wearing on his head a bandeau of white with bows surmounted by a mitre-shaped cap, formed of the green leaf of a banana tree. Besides the fan in his hand, he bore on his shoulder a long pole from which were suspended seven white scarfs, tied into bows at the ends, in a manner similar to those used in our own country.

For the following description of women's dress we are indebted to Porter (24, pp. 96-97):

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee* [*pa'e*], the second *cahu* [*kahu*], and

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291 292 the third uhuwahee [?]. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The cahu consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot it brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Cloth head bands and turbans are described by Stewart (26, p. 230) as follows:

White appears to be the favourite hue, especially for decorations of the head. Their turbans are of various shapes; the most common consists of a piece of native cloth, of the size of an ordinary pocket-handkerchief, bound closely to the head, having the ends twisted into a large knot immediately in front or on one side over the temple. The ends of others are longer, and formed into large puffs or cockades on the top or sides. In some there is an opening on the crown for the hair, which, tied closely to the head, then hangs down in ringlets in the neck and shoulders. Some wear fillets or bandeaux only, either with or without bows or hanging ends, and many leave their black tresses entirely unconfined and flowing carelessly over their mantles.

The following (26, pp. 235-236) are descriptions of the appearance of festival dress:

[The dress of a male dancer] consisted of a large quantity of white human hair, worn high and much frizzled around his head, of heavy bunches of the same material, but black, about the wrist and ankles, and of a profuse quantity of white cloth around the loins as a maro. That of the boys was more striking and fanciful. One wore on his head the feathered helmet and other decorations of the ear and neck of a warrior, the cap and plumage being of a height equal to all the rest of his figure. Above his girdle, was a full sash of white cloth, tied in a large bow with long ends in front, and from it four white cords of platted tapa, two behind and two before, descended to the knee, each terminating in monstrous tassels of black hair, fastened to flat circular pieces of wood, whitened with pipe clay. His waist, wrists, and ankles were also hung with the same, and in either hand he held a small tuft of white. [301]

The head-dress of the other was a bandeau of white cloth in a thick roll over the forehead, and above this a wreath of black feathers, surmounted by a high ornament of white tapa gathered into folds at the frontlet, and spreading above into a large cockade in the shape of a peacock's tail, the whole having an airy and tasteful appearance. His necklace was composed of alternate bunches of a brightly shining aromatic vine and the flower of the cape jessamine, while his maro of the purest white, arranged in neat folds, was intertwined with garlands of the same. [302]

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113 27. Tregear, Edward, The Maori race, Wanganui, N. Z., 1904.
28. U. S. Hydrographic Office, Pacific Islands pilot, vol. 2 (Eastern Groups), Washington, 1916.
29. Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, C., Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva, histoire, géographie, moeurs, Paris, 1843.
30. Wilson, James, A missionary voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798 in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

133 **Plate I.—The Marquesas Islands in 1921.**

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A. Looking west into Taha Uku, Atu Ona (Vevau), and Ta'a Oa, probably the center of original settlement on Hiva Oa.

B. Modern houses on the site of an ancient feast place at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

C. Section of a temple platform in Tai-pi valley, Nuku Hiva.

D. Retaining walls of terraced taro plantation on a hillside at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

E. Village scene at Hokatu, Ua Huka.

F. Birth-house at Haka he Tau, Ua Pou.

Plate II.—Marquesas Islanders of today.

142 291 304

A. Puhe tete Haapuani, a *tuhuna nui* who was my chief informant at Atu Ona, Hiva Oa—an example of the stocky native type. The illustration shows him standing beside the stone image of Taka-i'i at Pua Ma'u. Full blooded.

B. Te-ike Pupuni, a maker of food pounders on Ua Huka. Half Chinese.

C. Eo tafa of Ta'a Ua, Hiva Oa, showing typical tattoo body covering. Pure blooded. (The tattoo design was brought out by the use of paint.)

D. Teava'o of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa, an example of the lean native type. Pure blooded.

E. Honeno of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, wearing an ancient bark-cloth *kumi*. Pure blooded. He is a survivor of the times of cannibalistic warfare.

F. Tahia-ti'a-ko'e of Pua Ma'u, Hiva Oa, who recorded from her grandfather the creation chant and other sacred chants. She wears an old *peue ei* (wreath). Pure blooded.

G. Proiho of Umo'a, Fatu Hiva, a wood carver. Pure blooded.

H. Manu-peke of Hane, Ua Huka. Half Hawaiian.

I. Tavahi-tekao of Atu Ona, Hiva Oa. Pure blooded.

J. Taniha Ţeahu of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

K. Tehono of Haka he Tau, Ua Pou. Pure blooded.

L. Tahia-po'o-heana of Hane, Ua Huka. Pure blooded.

M. Penapena, chief of Haka Hau, Ua Pou. One-quarter American.

304 532 **Plate III.—Tattoo designs in the Marquesas: head, arm and hand designs.**

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[End Plate 1]

THE MARQUESAS ISLANDS IN 1921

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A B C D E F

G H I J K L

MARQUESAS ISLANDERS OF TODAY

[End Plate 2]

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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ISAAC PUHETETE, CALLED HAAPUANI OF ATUONA, HIVAOA, STANDING BESIDE THE GREAT STONE FIGURE OF TAKAII, AT PUAMAU.

[frontispiece]

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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with high hopes, many stories, and none for the good of the natives.

The Adelantado said to the Vicar and Chaplain that they were to chant the "*Te Deum laudamus*" with all the people on their knees, and that they should give thanks to God for the mercy of sighting land. This was done with great devotion.

On the following day, with doubt whether that island was inhabited, the ships were steered to the south of it, and very near the coast. From a point under a peaked hill towards the eastern end, there came out seventy small canoes, not all the same size, made of one piece of wood, with outriggers of cane on each side, after the manner of the gunwales of galleys, which reach to the water on which they press to prevent the canoe from capsizing, and all their paddles rowing. The least number they had in a canoe was three, the greatest ten, some swimming, and others hanging on—altogether, four hundred natives, almost white, and of very graceful shape, well-formed, robust, good legs and feet, hands with long fingers; good eyes, mouth, and teeth, and the same with the other features. Their skin was clear, showing them to be a strong and healthy race, and indeed robust. They all came naked, without any part covered; their faces and bodies in patterns of a blue colour, painted with fish and other patterns. Their hair was like that of women, very long and loose, some had it twisted, and they themselves gave it turns. Many of them were ruddy. They had beautiful youths who, for a people barbarous and naked, it was certainly pleasant to see; and they had much cause to praise their Creator.

Among them there was a boy, who appeared to be about ten years of age.[1] He came rowing in a canoe with

[1] Suarez de Figueroa says it was a girl.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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high rocky hills, with some ravines whence the stream descends.

Some of the natives of these islands did not appear to be as white as those of Magdalena. They have the same form of speech, the same arms and canoes, with which they communicate. Their village is built on two sides of a square, one north and south, the other east to west, with the surroundings well paved. The rest is a space with very tall and thick trees. The houses appear to be for the community, after the manner of slave quarters, and open to wind and water, the floor being raised above that of the street. It appeared that many people were lodged in each house, for there were many bed-places, and these low. Some houses had low doors, and others had all the front open. They are of wood, interwoven with very large canes having joints of more than 5 *palmos*[1] in length, and of the thickness of a man's arm. The roof is of the leaves from the trees in the open space.

The Chief Pilot did not see anything of the women, because he did not land at the time that they came; but all who saw them reported that they had beautiful legs and hands, fine eyes, fair countenances, small waists, and graceful forms, and some of them prettier than the ladies of Lima, who are famed for their beauty. Respecting their complexion, if it cannot be called white, it is nearly white. They go with a certain covering from the breasts downwards.

Apart from the village there was an oracle surrounded by palisades, with the entrance on the west side. Within there was a house, almost in the middle, in which there were some wooden figures badly carved; and here were offerings of food and a pig, which the soldiers took.

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[1] A *palmo* is 8 inches, being a quarter of a *vara*, which is 32.9 inches.

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
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we sighted an island, to which the General gave the name of Magdalena, and from a port in it there came forth about seventy canoes, in each of which came three men, in some more in others less. Others came swimming, and others on logs: they were more than four hundred natives, white, and of very agreeable appearance, tall and strong, large limbed, and so well made that they had greatly the advantage over us; with handsome teeth, eyes and mouth, hands and feet, and most beautiful flowing hair, and many of them very fair. Amongst them were most beautiful youths; they were entirely naked, without covering on any part, and all had their bodies, legs, and arms, and hands, and some of them their faces, marked after the manner of the Bisayas here: and indeed, for savage people, naked and of so little reason, at sight of them there was much cause to praise God who created them. Let this not be taken for exaggeration, for so it is. These people called us to go to their port, and we called to them from our flag-ship, and they went on board of her, a matter of forty of them; and we appeared to be men of less than the usual stature by the side of them; and amongst them there came one who was understood to be a palm taller than the tallest man of our fleet, although we had in the fleet men of more than regulation height. The General gave there to some of them shirts and other things, which they received with much pleasure, and danced after their fashion, and called to the others. The General was put out of temper at the liberties they took, because they were great thieves; and he ordered a cannon to be fired to frighten them; when they heard it they took to swimming, and all seized their arms, and sounding a conch, they threw a few stones, and threatened with their lances, for they had no other arms. From the ship they fired at them with arquebuses, and killed five or six, and they remained there. As our fleet sailed on we discovered three other islands. This

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. [292] They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [291] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large 304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable.

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

291 The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

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ahuwahee. The *pahhee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

6: Lisianshy T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. 10th. might have been filled in a very short time. At day-break we reached the south end of Noocahiva; but as the wind blew from the south-west, we tacked about. The bay, from which the canoes had come out the day before, is situated on the east side of the island, and is pretty large. The islanders did all they could to persuade us to stop in this quarter; but, as it was completely exposed to the easterly winds, I could not comply with their request. At eight in the morning the wind shifted to the north-east; and, as the weather cleared up a little, I made for the shore: and at nine, to our equal joy and surprise, a jolly-boat was seen coming to us from the Nadejda. Having been separated nearly seven weeks from our friends, the pleasure we felt, on hearing they were all in good health and spirits, can hardly be expressed.

At noon we entered the long-desired bay of Taiohaia; but, the wind failing, we were obliged to warp the ship to the anchoring place. While this was doing, I went on board the Nadejda to pay my respects to captain Krusenstern, with whom I found the king of the bay and a great number of islanders, who were entirely naked. His majesty differed in no respect from his subjects, except that his body was more punctured or tatooed. I had the good fortune to please the king at first sight; he called me *Too*, and promised to pay me a visit as soon as possible. There were also on board the Nadejda a Frenchman and an Englishman, who, having resided several years in these islands, were extremely useful to us, as will be seen hereafter.

Returning on board my ship, I found the king already

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

161 My endeavours to ascertain with accuracy the population of the island were fruitless: from comparing, however, Roberts's account with what I could observe myself, I judged that the south side of it contained about four thousand inhabitants. 1804. May.

142 The natives are a handsome and well-made people; the men especially, who are tall and strong-limbed. The commonalty are of a dark complexion, with straight black hair. The nobility are much fairer.

304 Tatooing is so much in fashion here, that there is not an individual without some marks of it. Many were covered all over with different figures, some of which displayed much taste. The king, however, surpassed all his subjects in this kind of embellishment. His body was so completely figured, that scarcely the smallest spot of the natural colour of his skin could be perceived. To be thus perfectly tatooed, is a business of great [145] expense; the masters of the art expecting to be paid handsomely for their work. The practice of tatooing appeared to me very ridiculous at first; but when accustomed to it, those who had the most figures I thought the most comely. It is astonishing that women, who are in all countries so fond of beautifying their persons, do not tatoo themselves here; except with a few lines on the lips, round the perforation in the ears, and on the hands.

291 There is hardly any clothing worn by these people. The men 304 have sometimes a sort of towel round the waist, but in general they go quite naked. Mr. Langsdorff has said, that circumcision is universal among them. So far from this being the case,

6: Lisianasky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. I observed instances of the prepuce being drawn forward over the glans and tied with a string, the ends of which hung down about four inches. To this string much value seemed to be attached; for it happened that the king's brother, in coming on board my ship, had the misfortune to lose it, and his anxiety upon the occasion was extreme. As he stepped on the gangway, he eagerly covered the untied part with his hands, and made earnest signs for a piece of rope-yarn; till he had received which, and restored the part to its previous state, he appeared as if incapable of moving from the spot where the accident happened.

The women are more decent, as to clothing, than the men. When full-dressed, they are wrapped in a kind of cloth of their own making, which is fastened round the waist, and then folded over the shoulders, so as to leave one only or both breasts uncovered. In general, however, nothing is hidden but the part which nature forbids them to expose; and so tenacious are they of the covering to this part, that the most salacious will not consent to take it off.

The men wear their hair in different forms. Some cut it quite close, and shave a little space upwards from behind; others shave half the head lengthwise, leaving the hair long on the other half; and others again shave off all the hair, except a tuft on each side, which is twisted into the shape of horns. Some daub themselves over with yellow paint only, and others with cocoa-nut oil and yellow paint mixed. They all wear ear-rings and necklaces. The necklaces are made of shells or wood, and sometimes of the teeth of swine, or the porpoise: those made of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

The climate of the Marquesas is such that clothing is unnecessary as a protection from the cold. The original native dress was a scant costume of tapa. Mats seem also to have been worn but their use was exceptional. The only mention of this custom is by Krusenstern (34, p. 156) who, speaking of the people of Nuku Hiva, says,

> Mats are sometimes used among them, and the king's son-in-law, though indeed he was the only person, always came to the ship in one of a very coarse kind, and fastened under the chin in such a manner as to merely cover the back.

In Hiva Oa the natives seem to have no memory of the use of mats as clothing and in view of the tapu which existed on that island against the use by men of mats other than those made of coconut, it seems doubtful that they ever were worn. This tapu was so strong that in former times straw hats which were considered a kind of mat could not be placed on the head without sacrilege.

TAPA

Tapa was made from the bark of several different trees. The most important is the *ute* or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* or *Morus papyrifera*) which yielded a soft white tapa. An inferior greyish tapa was made from the bark of the breadfruit tree, and a strong, mahogany colored tapa, much used in ceremonial costumes, was made from the bark of a species of banyan (*Ficus Sp.*). Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) says that the bark of the *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) and the *katea* (Alyxia) were also used to a small extent.

The paper mulberry was essentially a cultivated plant, and was probably introduced by the early settlers. It was planted in fenced enclosures and carefully tended. The breadfruit and banyan do not seem to have been grown specially for tapa making, the bark being obtained from shoots and small limbs. A special form of *ute* tapa, made from the bark of an old tree, was worn as part of a priest's ceremonial costume.

IMPLEMENTS USED IN MAKING TAPA

The implements used by the Marquesans in making tapa were scrapers, beaters and anvils.

Scrapers

The scrapers used in the manufacture of tapa were made from pearl shells, rarely more than four inches across, whose edges were ground sharp. In some scrapers the irregularities of the hinge were also ground away to make the implement more convenient to hold, but the natural outlines of the shell seem always to have been retained. They must have formerly been very numer-

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

CLOTHING AND BODY DECORATIONS

291 The Marquesans rarely went entirely nude although, among the men at least, the practice was not unknown. Quiros (51) says that the first men seen by the Spaniards were nude and Krusenstern (34, pp. 156-159) is specific on this point. He says:

> Even this girdle (the *hami*) is not worn by all the Nukahiwers, for the handsome Mau-ha-u for instance, always effected to go naked; and, although on two occasions I presented him with a girdle, he came on board the next time without it.

Even when entirely nude the Marquesan sense of modesty required that the head of the pénis should be covered. The foreskin, which was slit but not removed in the native form of circumcision, was drawn over it and confined by a ligature.

GARMENTS

The simplest form of clothing consisted of a few fau leaves wrapped around the genitals. This was employed by men when working on plantations at some distance from the village. The ordinary male garments were the *hami*, or loin cloth, and the cloak, both made of tapa. The cloak was usually dispensed with when at work. The ordinary *hami* consisted of a single strip of tapa approximately 2 feet wide and 8 feet long which was put on as follows: One end of the strip was passed between the legs, leaving a tail about 18 inches long in front. The rear end was then carried up and around the body to the right, and attached to itself by a few twists in the rear. The front tail was thrust up under the girdle thus formed, its end hanging down on the outside like a short apron. This simple *hami* was amplified in various ways on dress occasions. The commonest modification seems to have been the addition of a tail tied into large knots at equal intervals and long enough to drag on the ground behind. Handy obtained descriptions of two variations: the *hami kohito*, worn by old men, had three pendant strips in front, and a single tail behind; the *hami tatataka* had tails at the sides.

The cloak was made from a large rectangular piece of tapa with its upper corners knotted together. The knot was considered ornamental and was as large as a man's fist. The men's cloak was usually worn with the knot in front, on the breast, so that only the back of the body was covered. When in position its lower edges fell below the knee.

The complete clothing for women consisted of a loin cloth, apparently identical in arrangement with the ordinary man's *hami*, or of a kilt, made from a strip of tapa wrapped several times around the waist and reaching to the knee. A cloak was also worn. Stewart (59, p. 255) says that the younger women frequently wore only the cloak, which was wrapped around the body, the edges held together with the hand. The woman's cloak was identical with that of the men, but might

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

be worn with the knot either on the breast or on one shoulder. According to Handy the festive dress of the women consisted of a strip of tapa as much as thirty or forty meters long which was wrapped round and round the wearer, giving an effect not unlike an European hoop skirt. In some cases it was doubled and plaited around a hoop which hung from the hips. This custom of wearing great quantities of tapa has also been described from Hawaii and the Society Islands. It is rather interesting that the poncho-like upper garment worn in the Society Islands seems to have been unknown in the Marquesas.

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TATTOOING

The Marquesans surpassed all other Polynesians in the excellence and extent of their tattooing. In men the entire person, even to the crown of the head, was covered with intricate and beautiful designs. Women were tattooed on the arms, legs and shoulders, but not on the body. The facial tattooing of women was limited to a series of short lines on the lips and a small figure behind the lobe of the ear. The present natives deny that the genitals were tattooed, but a drawing in the prospectus of Von den Steinen's book on Marquesan art indicates that this was sometimes done on women.

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The tattooing was done with bone combs.

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The larger combs were made from the bones of revenge victims, *heana*, the smaller combs of bird bones. In Hiva Oa at least smaller tattooing combs were made from the bones of tapu birds caught on Fatu Huku. The combs are roughly triangular in outline, with rounded apexes and slightly convex edges. Unfinished specimens show that they were shaped and ground to a sharp edge before the teeth were cut. The cutting of the teeth is said to have been done with a sliver of bamboo. The largest comb collected is about 3 inches long and ½ inch wide at the base, with a maximum width of about ½ inch, and a thickness of 1/16th of an inch. The smallest, made of bird bone, is about 2½ inches long, with a base width of 1/10 of an inch and a maximum width of about 1/5 of an inch. The teeth range in length from 1/8 to 1/5 of an inch and vary in number from 3 to 18, according to the width of the comb. The lower edge of several of the combs is convex rather than straight so that the incisions made must have been deepest in the middle. This is not a constant feature and was probably accidental. The larger combs were used to fill solid space in the designs, the smaller, in working out curves and details. (See Pl. LXXV, *A*, 2.)

According to informants in Hiva Oa, the combs were provided with temporary handles made from joints of upland reed, in which small transverse slots were cut for the insertion of the upper end of the comb. When not in use the handles were discarded and the combs stored in short joints of bamboo (Pl. LXXV, *A*, 3). The complete implement looked like a miniature adz from four to six inches long. In Nuka Hiva a more permanent form of handle seems to have been used, the blade being attached by ornamental lashings of very thin sennit.

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The pigment used in tattooing was made from soot or from pulverized charcoal, mixed with water to form a thick ink.

In making the soot pigment, which was considered the best, a flat water-worn stone was propped up on three other stones in such a way as to leave a small space beneath it. Three strings of candle nuts, strung on sennit, were then tied together in a bunch, lit, and thrust under

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OXo Marquesas OX6

Both sexes removed the pubic and axillary hair by means of tweezers made from the shells of small bivalves. 302

HAIR DRESSING

A number of modes of hair dressing were employed by the Marquesans, the men apparently surpassing the women in the number of styles. Porter says:

> The females at times, on what occasions I do not know, shave their heads close: but I am induced to believe that such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such variety in wearing their hair that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others. (See 49, pp. 113-114.)
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> The *pahhe* (woman's head dress) consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembles a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web. This is put on in a very neat and tasty manner and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day (1812) in America. (See 49, p. 96.)

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Porter's observations were made in Nuku Hiva. According to informants in Hiva Oa, women's hair was usually cut off at the shoulders, although it might be allowed to grow full length. On ordinary occasions it was allowed to float free, or was held back from the face by a band of white tapa, with the ends hanging behind. At the time of feasts the hair was drawn up through the *pachaka*, or other ornament worn, and frizzled so that it stood out in small locks. One informant said that these locks were sometimes passed through small corrugated tubes of human bone, of the sort used to decorate container handles.

Men shaved their heads in various ways. Porter says (49, pp. 113-114):

> Their [young men's] custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best hair dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of a near relative, etc.

When the hair was dressed with two knots the center and back of the head was shaved, the tapa wrapped knots protruding like horns from the bare skull. Gracia (28, p. 134) says that the old men, and especially the high chiefs, wore their hair done up in a single horn on top of the head.

The natives of Hiva Oa seem to have had an even greater variety of styles. Some men never cut their hair, others did it up in two horns, as in Nuku Hiva; still others arranged the crown in fantastic ways, as one half shaved the other long, or the front shaved and the back long, or a series of shaved stripes, with long hair between. Handy was informed that in time of war, finger bones or other trophies of slain enemies were attached to the hair. [727]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

852 service in donating the child. He was supposed to eat the entire pig himself. The relatives closest to the child, that is, the [301] father's sisters and the mother's brothers, had their hair cut 302 at this time, the shorn locks being made into a set of ornaments, a shoulder cape or a kilt, decorations for knees, ankles, elbows, and wrists. The fully equipped male in full regalia looked [305] somewhat like a poodle. The hair was handled by professional curlers, being wound on tubes, wrapped in fibre, and baked. The child did not wear these ornaments during infancy. For [291] special state occasions before the age of puberty, the heir would be dressed and decorated, but, ordinarily, children of both sexes went nude.

597 Adoption was extremely common even in ancient times. That of first-born children, as a method of fusing family lines and avoiding competition, has already been mentioned, but younger children were also adopted into younger child status. Such children were often asked for before they were born and the request could not be refused without causing serious insult and possibly a blood feud. The child was usually transferred to its new household at the age of two to four months and its real parents were expected to make the adoptive parents a substantial gift to cover the expense of rearing it. Such a transfer would terminate the nursing period. Many women are said to have objected strongly to this practice and it is one of the reasons ascribed for the dropping birth rate during the early 842 period of European contact. The natives could control birth through their knowledge of perversions and mechanical abortion and women were often unwilling to go through the trouble of producing children when they knew that these would be [855 taken away from them. Since the rearing of children was largely 562] in the hands of men, the effect of this custom was to emphasize still more strongly the role of women as sexual objects, minimizing the importance of their reproductive functions.

853 The Marquesans believe that nursing makes a child hard to raise and not properly submissive. There was probably a certain amount of nursing, dependent upon the will of the mother,

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

857 of the elders for their own amusement. These children were not *kaioi* or members of adolescent bands; they did not become *kaioi* until after puberty, at which time the whole gang passed into the *kaioi* stage together. When the group married, they tended to become members of the same households, as they had formed attachments for one another and had had considerable opportunity to become accustomed to each other.

836 Sexual play was a regular practice among the children from
864 the earliest period. The adult attitude toward it, if not one of active encouragement, was at least that of mild amusement. Intercourse was frequently witnessed by the children in the dwelling and also at the periods of license which followed the feasts. Regular intercourse began before puberty with patterns of group sexual play, two or three girls in the gang serving a number of boys in rapid succession with the other boys looking on. Occasionally there were individual affairs. Sexual techniques were learned through imitation of the adults. Masturbation in childhood was inducted by the parents; whether it was practiced afterward in the face of opportunity for intercourse, it is impossible to say. Homosexuality was present in the form of mutual masturbation, but I have no data as to its frequency. The gap between adults and children was such that it was impossible for an adult to win the child's confidence. Relations between them were amiable but entirely disassociated.

• 291 Clothing was assumed shortly before puberty. The eldest child was clothed for ceremonial purposes from time to time from infancy onward. I heard of one small boy, an eldest son, who left his family in a huff because they wanted him to wear a loin cloth to a ceremony. Later in life the clothing, so far as males were concerned, was mainly decorative. The decent costume for males was to have the foreskin drawn over the glans and fastened beyond it with a thread wrapped around and tied. Thus attired, a gentleman was properly clothed, but if the thread slipped, it was a case of indecent exposure.

883 Young people between the age of puberty and marriage formed a group known as the *kaioi*. Readers familiar with

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 It probably had more effect than killing the man, by showing them that they were not safe at any distance.

648 439 On the 10th, early in the morning, some people from more distant parts came in canoes alongside, and sold them some pigs; so that they had now sufficient to give the crew a fresh meal. After dinner Captain Cook went on shore, and collected eighteen pigs.

Next morning he went down to the same place where he had been the preceding evening; but instead of getting pigs, as he expected, found the scene quite changed. The nails and other things they were mad after but the evening before, they now despised. The reason was, several of the young gentlemen having landed the preceding day, had given away in exchange various articles which the people had not seen before, and which took with them more than nails or more useful iron tools. Trade being thus stopped, the Captain prepared to leave this place, and go where their wants might be effectually relieved; for after having been nineteen weeks at sea, and living all the time on salt diet, they could not but want some refreshments; yet they had not one sick man on board, owing to the many antiscorbutic articles they had, and to the great attention of the surgeon.

April the 11th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they weighed. They had now but little wind, and that very variable, with showers of rain.

175 The Marquesas, which they had just left, were discovered by Mendana, a Spaniard, and from him obtained the general name they now bear. They are five in number, viz., La Magdalena, St. Pedro, La Dominica, Santa Christina, and Hood's Island, which is the northernmost; La Dominica is the largest.

174 The inhabitants of these islands, collectively, are without exception the finest race of people in this sea. For fine shape and regular features, they perhaps surpass all other nations. Nevertheless the affinity of their language to that spoken in Otaheite and the Society Isles, show that they are of the same nation. Oedidee could converse with them tolerably well, and it was easy to see that their language was nearly the same.

291 The men, for the most part, have nothing to cover their nakedness, except the Marra, as it is called at Otaheite; which is a slip of cloth passed round the waist and betwixt the legs. This simple dress is quite sufficient for the climate,

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders.

In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at.

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes.

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

X 142
302
.241

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THESE MEN ARE CHARACTERIZED BY DENSE MOUSTACHES AND A MODERATE BEARD. THE BEARDS ARE MODERATELY LONG, THE FACES HIGH AND THE NOSES RELATIVELY NARROW. THE SKINS ARE A LIGHT YELLOWISH BROWN. THERE IS LITTLE PROGNATHISM AND THE CHINS ARE FAIRLY WELL DEVELOPED. NOS. 2, 6, 9, 14 AND 15 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF TYPE I. NOS. 7, 8, 10 AND 13 ARE EXAMPLES OF A THIRD TYPE CHARACTERIZED BY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 112]
[end plate 4]

IX
12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

X
H42
B62
v.8
pt.1

TYPE II—THE INDONESIAN MEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 2, AND 3 WITH THEIR PROFILES IN NOS. 10 AND 12 ARE PROBABLY THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS TYPE. THEIR LIPS, NOSES, AND FACE PROPORTIONS ARE NOTABLE. THEIR SKINS ARE A DARKER BROWN THAN THAT OF THE POLYNESIANS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 119]

[end plate 27]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OKS Marquesas OKS

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 Oxx Marquesas Oxx

XMP 202 .P41

TYPE I—POLYNESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. THE HAIR OF THESE WOMEN FOR THE MOST PART IS STRAIGHT OR ONLY SLIGHTLY WAVY. THE THICKNESS OF THEIR LIPS IS MORE NOTICEABLE THAN IN THE MEN OF THIS TYPE. SOME OF THE WOMEN ARE OF MIXED BLOOD. NOS. 5, 6, 9 AND 15 ARE THE BEST REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLYNESIAN TYPE. NOS. 8 AND 12 HAVE VERY SHORT HEADS.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[p. 114]

[end plate 3]

X HB2 342 .P41

TYPE II—INDONESIAN WOMEN OF THE MARQUESAS. NOS. 1, 3, 4 AND 7, WITH THEIR PROFILES IN 11, 12, AND 13 ARE THE BEST EXAMPLES OF THIS TYPE. NONE OF THIS HAIR CAN BE CALLED CURLY. WITH THE EXCEPTION OF NO. 10, WHO HAS FRIZZLY HAIR, THIS TYPE IS CHARACTERIZED BY HAIR WITH A MODERATE WAVE. NO. 10 IS NEGROID IN APPEARANCE, BUT HAS A CEPHALIC INDEX OF 88.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[P. 151]

[end plate 4]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OXS Marquesas OXS

X
M2
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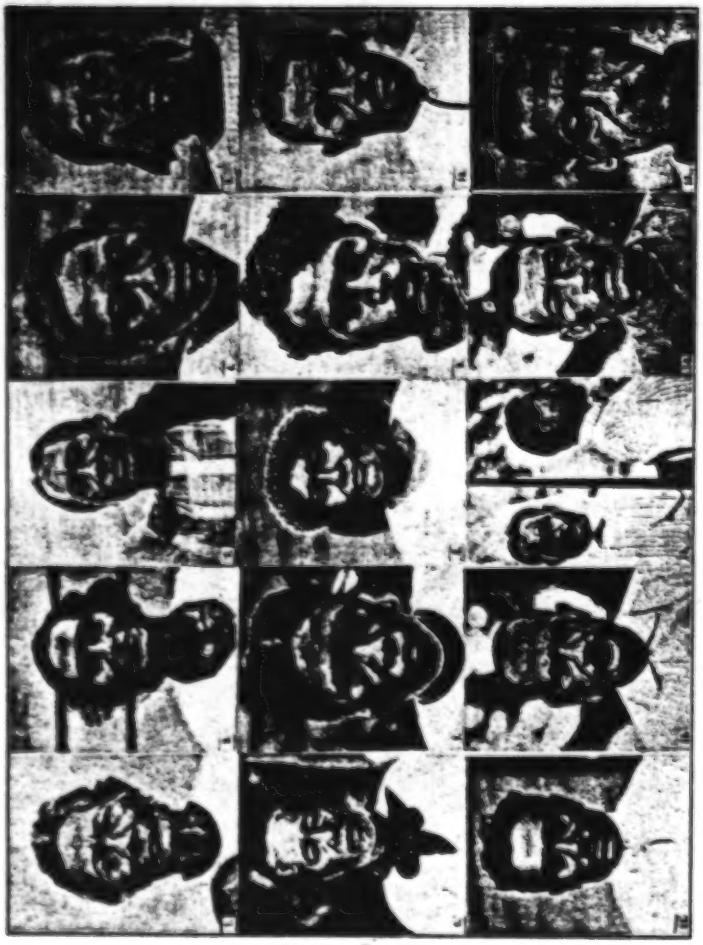
LX



MIXED AND UNCLASSIFIED TYPES. SEVERAL OF THE WOMEN HAVE LONG HEADS, HIGH FACES, AND BROAD NOSES. NO. 9 HAS THE READILY APPARENT TO CURLY HAIR IN THIS SERIES. NOS. 4, 5, 11 AND 13 MAY BE REPRESENTATIVES OF A THIRD TYPE WITH SHORT HEADS, NARROW FACES AND NARROW NOSES.

Photographs by Handy and Mahan.

[p. 116]

[end plate 5]

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

H42
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IX

TYPES MIXED WITH CAUCASIANS AND ASIATICS. NOS. 1 TO 10 ARE ONE-HALF CHINESE. NOS. 11 AND 12 ARE ONE-QUARTER WHITE AND ONE-QUARTER TAHITIAN. NOS. 13 AND 14 ARE ONE-HALF ENGLISH AND NUMBER 15 IS ONE-HALF SPANISH AND ONE-QUARTER FRENCH. WHERE CAUCASIAN BLOOD IS PRESENT IT IS USUALLY APPARENT.

Photographs by Handy and Linton.

[Pl. III]

[Lea Plate 6]

/32 cont./ 826 832 757

The sequence of vaginal astringents is terminated at puberty, but a new type of medication is begun in some cases, to alter the color of the mucus membranes and the labiae. It [856] is believed to be shameful for the labiae or mucus lining of the vulva to be excessively ruddy in color, hence a preparation of chopped young coconut meat is applied over the vulva to [824] alter the color of the parts in question. A supposed secondary effect of this medication is to render the pubic hair (hu'u hu'u) more pliable and soft, as coarse pubic hair is considered to be somewhat unbecoming.

/33/ Girls at puberty continue to receive sexual instruc- 864 tions from their grandmothers or members of the grandmother's [602] generation, but much is also learned from more sexually ad- [603] vanced friends. At this age, Marquesan girls are often seen [883] together, talking secretively for long periods of time. The [521] talks almost invariably involve sexual matters. For this reason, government school teachers state that it is wiser to release [875] girls from school at this point, as their interests often attract [871] and produce "adverse" effects on younger girls in the lower grades of school.

At puberty, female homosexuality occurs. One context 864 in which some homosexual play takes place is during instruc- 838 tion of relatively sexually inexperienced girls by others who are more experienced. In such instruction, both girls remove their clothing and assume a position of copulation. The instructor supposedly demonstrates the positions of intercourse and the pelvic movements, acting first as the "girl" and then the "boy" of the cpuple.

Although very much at ease with each other in states of 291 undress, girls at puberty become very self-conscious about ap- 883 pearing in mixed company in any type of attire that might be termed daring. In intercourse they seldom remove all of their [833] clothing, usually merely pulling up their skirt, even if there is no probability of being surprised en flagrante. Swimming is [526] indulged in fully dressed, if there is any possibility of being observed, while bathing nude in secluded pools is quite com- [515] mon and semi-nudity around the house is the rule.

/51cont./

argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]●
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/97 cont./
relationship the intimacy necessary for sexual instructions was achieved easily. The same informants remarked that instruction of this type was declining at present, due to the "shame" which the topic of sex engendered in contacts between grandparents and grandchildren. It appears, then, that the grandparent-grandchild relationship as a means of transmitting sexual instructions is a rapidly declining aboriginal custom.

603 864 [182]

Nudity for both sexes was not marked by any stigma in the aboriginal past. In many cases, males went completely naked except for a small ligature which held the foreskin over the glans penis, concealing it. Loin cloths (hami) were also worn by males, often on ceremonial occasions. Women apparently went naked to the waist in general but also appeared in the nude on many occasions. On various occasions, however, women wore a considerable amount of clothing, consisting of a skirt and a mantle of tapa cloth, concealing much of the body.

291 ●

The present avoidance of nudity, in heterosexual relations, which is so marked among adolescents, appears to be a direct result of the missionary pressure. Since the occupation of the island, the natives have been forced gradually to accept more and more of the standards of clothing set up by the mission; standards which, incidentally, bear little relation to those in the continental culture in which the Marquesan missionaries have originated. The first step appears to have been a ban on /98/ most of the native attire, especially varieties of female attire. Male clothing appears to have caused less concern to the missionaries. Thus, at the end of the nineteenth century, as is shown by von den Steinen's excellent photographs, most of the women wore "Mother Hubbards" a large percentage of the time that they were in situations where numbers of people were about, while men could wear the hami loincloth or some form of European clothing. The hami appears to have gone out in the first quarter of the twentieth century, probably disappearing completely by 1930. The same attitudes and values which have been instilled to produce this assumption of

291 797

178 291 797

178 797 834 [291]

/98 cont./ 178 797 834 [291]
European clothing habits appears to have also carried over into sexual relations, to the extent that many girls of the present adolescent age-group do not wish to expose their bodies to casual lovers. It is difficult to say whether this prudishness has developed relatively recently, as a result of increased missionary efforts since World War II, or whether it has been gradually developing over a longer period of time. The effects of the mission value system can also be seen in some of the sexual terminology (i.e., nene = "breast," lit. "shame"; [192] pe = "vulva" or "orgasm" lit. "rotten," "infected"; hauhau = "orgasm," lit. "bad").

In comparing the age at which heterosexual relations are begun in modern Marquesan culture with the evidence of the aboriginal period, we see some indications that changes may have taken place in the last two centuries. Several historical sources allude to the striking youth of the Marquesan girls who had sexual relations with European visitors. Lisiansky (1814, p. 67) remarks that some 100 females "practised all the arts of /99/ lewd expression and gesture to get aboard. . . . Among them were some not more than ten years of age." He further states"...these infants rivaled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement." Krusenstern (1802, p. 116) also notes a girl of 10 to 12 years of age, brought by her father, engaging in sexual intercourse with sailors. Marchand (p. 109) whose visit was to the southern islands of the archipelago, some years previous to the Krusenstern expedition, reported that he saw 8-year-old girls who were definitely not novices in sexual techniques. He states, however, that he saw four older women hold a young girl and force her to submit to intercourse with a European sailor, indicating that some of this precocity may not have been standard practice in the culture. Krusenstern (ibid) attributed the promiscuity of the girls to the rather mercenary [548] interests of their husbands and fathers who desired certain gifts from the Europeans. He believed that the girls who visited his ships may have been assigned as prostitutes for the express purpose of obtaining metal tools, ornaments, etc. Therefore, the evidence that Marquesan girls may have begun 178 869 175 648 869